dollars in expert fees,'' leaving many communities vulnerable to discrimination and suppression when voting rights litigators cannot intervene on their behalf and without the proactive protections of a federal preclearance regime. As former Attorney General Holder testified, ''[w]e need to end gerrymandering, so that all people, including people of color, can be represented by public servants of their choice and be able to hold those representatives politically accountable.''

Conclusion

The Voting in America hearings conducted by the Subcommittee show conclusively that discrimination in voting does, in fact, still exist. The evidence gathered by the Subcommittee not only illustrates that discrimination exists, but that is has grown steadily in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision in Shelby County. Furthermore, the evidence demonstrates that the ''extraordinary measures'' once deployed by the Voting Rights Act remain necessary today, and that the removal of those safeguards released a torrent of voter suppression laws the VRA once succeeded in holding back.

As former Attorney General Eric Holder testified:

''Before 2013, Section 5 had helped prevent discriminatory voting laws from taking effect by imposing preclearance protections that required a federal review of changes to voting procedures in covered regions. Basically, areas with a history of discrimination had to get approval from the Department of Justice or from a federal court for significant changes in voting laws or procedures. That section of the Voting Rights Act had helped to stop some of the worst attempts to discriminate against minority voters for decades. But in a five-to-four opinion, the conservative members of the Court wrote that the nation had ''changed dramatically'' since the Voting Rights Act went into effect and that, because of gains made, particularly by Black Americans, these protections were no longer necessary.''

The evidence demonstrates that the nation has not changed as dramatically as the Court's majority may have thought. In the eight years since Shelby County was decided, states have taken significant steps toward suppressing the vote. Across the country, states have purged millions of voters from the voting rolls; enacted a rash of strict voter ID laws; attempted to implement documentary proof of citizenship laws; failed to provide necessary language access and assistance to limited-English proficiency voters; closed, consolidated, or relocated hundreds if not thousands of polling locations, causing voters to wait in long, burdensome lines to vote; attempted to cut back on opportunities to vote outside of Election Day; and employed changes to methods of elections, jurisdictional boundaries, and redistricting as methods to dilute and disenfranchise minority voters.

Litigation under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act and the Constitution has proven to be a powerful but inadequate tool to combat the wave of voter suppression tactics unleashed in the years since Shelby. Janai Nelson, Associate Director-Counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, testified that, in the first five years following Shelby ''an unprecedented 61 lawsuits were filed under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act,'' of which ''[t]wenty-three cases were successful.'' By contrast, ''in the five years before Shelby, only five Section 2 cases were won.'' Litigation alone is not an adequate remedy to protect the right to vote—cases arising under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act are reactive, costly, and can take years to litigate.

The 2018 and 2020 elections saw record voter turnout. While this is indeed an outcome to be celebrated, it is not, as some argue, an indication that voter suppression and discrimination no longer exists. The evidence gathered by the Subcommittee demonstrates that voters turned out in record numbers despite suppressive voting laws and a once-in-a-century pandemic. And yet, the reaction of Republican-led legislatures around the country to historic voter turnout has been to unleash a new wave of restrictive voting laws in the months following the 2020 election. States with a history of discriminatory voting practices and racially polarized voting continue to enact voting laws without analyzing whether these provisions discriminate against minority voters.

The false specter of fraud has been cited to support these new restrictive provisions. But, as we have heard time and again, numerous investigations have found no credible evidence of fraud in the 2020 election. Indeed, according to cyber and elections security experts, ''the November 3rd [2020] election was the most secure in American history.'' Unfortunately, fueled by the ''Big Lie'' that the election was stolen, insurrectionists attempted to stop the certification of a lawful, valid, democratic presidential election by storming the Capitol on January 6, 2021. In the six months since the attack, efforts to suppress the vote and subvert democracy have continued, as state legislatures have moved quickly to meet the increase in voter turnout with voter suppression.

According to the Brennan Center for Justice, as of May 14, 2021, more than 389 bills in 48 states have been introduced restricting the vote. As of June 21, 2021, 17 states have enacted 28 new laws that restrict access to the vote, with some state legislatures still in session. At least 16 restrictions on mail voting will make it more difficult for voters to cast mail ballots that count in 12 states. At least eight states have enacted 11 laws making in-person voting more difficult. And more bills are still moving through state legislatures.

These new laws only compound the legal and administrative hurdles enacted in the eight years since Shelby. As former Attorney General Holder testified:

''These actions have not made our elections safer or more secure. They have not improved the quality or accessibility of our politics. Instead, they have stripped Americans of fundamental rights and undermined the promise of American democracy. And they have all—every one of them—disproportionately impacted people of color.''

For example, Michael Waldman, President of the Brennan Center for Justice, testified that ''[i]n 2013, at least six states—Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Dakota, Virginia, and Texas—implemented or began to enforce strict photo ID laws, most of which had previously been blocked by the Department of Justice due to their discriminatory impact.'' Federal courts in at least four states have found strict voter ID laws to be racially discriminatory, including Texas and North Carolina's laws. In previously covered jurisdictions, 1,688 polling places were closed between 2012 and 2018, all with none of the disparate impact analysis previously required by preclearance. Restrictions targeting early voting opportunities can and do have a direct impact on minority voters.

Thomas Saenz, President and General Counsel for MALDEF, testified that, ''[t]here is simply no way that non-profit voting rights litigators, even supplemented by the work of a reinvigorated Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, could possibly prevent the implementation of all of the undue ballot-access restriction and redistricting violations that are likely to arise in the next two years.''

The evidence compiled by the Subcommittee illustrates that the voting and election administration practices of purging voters from the voting rolls; enacting voter ID and proof of citizenship requirements; failing to provide necessary multi-lingual voting materials and assistance; closing, consolidating, or relocating polling places; cutting or restricting access to alternative opportunities to vote; and altering methods of election, jurisdictional boundaries, and redistricting disproportionately impacts Black, Latino, Native American, Asian American, and other minority voters and impedes access to the ballot in a discriminatory manner.

Congress needs to listen to the American people. The Voting Rights Act was not written in the halls of Congress—it was written between Shelby and Montgomery. It was written by Americans who fought for equal access to what was promised to be a democracy. We are again hearing from the people on the need to protect the right to vote.

Defending democracy used to be a bipartisan endeavor. Since the Voting Rights Act first passed in 1965, Congress has acted several times, and in a bipartisan manner, to protect access to the vote. The Voting Rights Act was reauthorized five times with bipartisan votes—and signed into law each time by a Republican President. The 2006 VRA reauthorization was introduced by a Republican congressman. Moreover, Congress has passed additional voting bills, including the Uniformed and Overseas Citizen Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA) in 1986, the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA) in 1993, and the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) in 2002 with bipartisan support. Bipartisan commissions such as the Carter-Baker Commission and the Presidential Commission on Election Administration endeavored to create best practices in elections to improve the voting experience.

We are now at an inflection point in protecting our democracy. The time has come for Congress to utilize its constitutional authority to protect the fundamental right to vote for all Americans. As Mr. Henderson stated before the Subcommittee, ''[f]or democracy to work for all of us, it must include all of us.'' ''It is unacceptable that in 2021, 56 years after the VRA's passage,'' Ms. Nelson stated, that ''the right to vote remains so very under-protected. This model is not sustainable nor is it acceptable.''

And as Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote in 1964, the year before the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the ''right to vote freely for the candidate of one's choice is of the essence of a democratic society, and any restrictions on that right strike at the heart of the representative government.'' After reviewing thousands of pages of evidence collected during this Congress and listening to the testimony of dozens of experts from across the country, as summarized in this report, the evidence demonstrates one clear command: Congressional action is needed.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Gloria J. Lett, Deputy Clerk of the House, reported and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 3642. An Act to award a Congressional gold medal to the 369th Infantry Regiment, commonly known as the ''Harlem Hellfighters'', in recognition of their bravery and outstanding service during World War I.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Cheryl L. Johnson, Clerk of the House, reported that on July 30, 2021, she presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bill:

H.R. 3237. Making emergency supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2021, and for other purposes.

Cheryl L. Johnson, Clerk of the House, further reported that on August 4, 2021, she presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bills:

H.R. 208. To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 500 West Main Street, Suite 102 in Tupelo, Mississippi, as the ''Colonel Carlyle 'Smitty' Harris Post Office''.

H.R. 264. To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1101 Charlotte Street in Georgetown, South Carolina, as the ''Joseph Hayne Rainey Memorial Post Office Building''.

H.R. 772. To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 229 Minnetonka Avenue South in Wayzata, Minnesota, as the ''Jim Ramstad Post Office''.

H.R. 1002. To amend the Controlled Substances Act to authorize the debarment of certain registrants, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3325. To award four congressional gold medals to the United States Capitol Police and those who protected the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021.

ADJOURNMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SOTO). Pursuant to section 11(b) of House Resolution 188, the House stands adjourned until 10 a.m. on Friday, August 27, 2021.

Thereupon (at 7 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Friday, August 27, 2021, at 10 a.m.

BUDGETARY EFFECTS OF PAYGO LEGISLATION

Pursuant to the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010 (PAYGO), Mr. YARMUTH hereby submits, prior to the vote on passage, for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, that H.R. 978, the Chai Suthammanont Remembrance Act of 2021, as amended, would have no significant effect on the deficit, and therefore, the budgetary effects of such bill are estimated as zero.

Pursuant to the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010 (PAYGO), Mr. YARMUTH hereby submits, prior to the vote on passage, for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, that H.R. 2617, the Performance Enhancement Reform Act, as amended, would have no significant effect on the deficit, and therefore, the budgetary effects of such bill are estimated as zero.

Pursuant to the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010 (PAYGO), Mr. YARMUTH hereby submits, prior to the vote on passage, for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, that H.R. 3599, the Federal Rotational Cyber Workforce Program Act of 2021, as amended, would have no significant effect on the deficit, and therefore, the budgetary effects of such bill are estimated as zero.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

EC–1998. A letter from the Acting General Counsel, Office of the General Counsel, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule — Removing Profile Drawing Requirement for Qualifying Conduit Notices of Intent and Revising Filing Requirements for Major Hydroelectric Projects 10 MW or Less [Docket No.: RM20-21-000; Order No.: 877] received July 30, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

EC–1999. A letter from the Acting General Counsel, Office of the General Counsel, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule — Standards for Business Practices of Interstate Natural Gas Pipelines [Docket No.: RM96-1-042; Order No.: 587-Z] received August 10, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

EC–2000. A letter from the Fisheries Regulations Specialist, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule — Fisheries of the Northeastern United States; Omnibus Deep-Sea Coral Amendment [Docket No.: 210616-0130] (RIN: 0648-BH67) received July 30, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Natural Resources.

EC–2001. A letter from the Fisheries Regulations Specialist, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule — Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act Provisions; Regional Fishery Management Council Membership; Financial Disclosure and Recusal [Docket No.: 200-903-0233] (RIN: 0648-BH73) received July 30, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Natural Resources.

EC–2002. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Bombardier, Inc., Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2021-0272; Project Identifier MCAI-2020-01485-T; Amendment 39-21628; AD 2021-14-01] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received August 10, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

EC–2003. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; General Electric Company Turbofan Engines [Docket No.: FAA-2021-0102; Project Identifier AD-2020-01270-E; Amendment 39-21621; AD 2021-13-16] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received August 10, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

EC–2004. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Airbus Helicopters (Type Certificate Previously Held by Eurocopter France) [Docket No.: FAA-2021-0175; Project Identifier 2001-SW-33-AD; Amendment 39-21643; AD 2021-14-16] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received August 10, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

EC–2005. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Airbus Canada Limited Partnership (Type Certificate Previously Held by C Series Aircraft Limited Partnership (CSALP); Bombardier, Inc.) Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2021-0031; Project Identifier MCAI-2020-01420-T; Amendment 39-21625; AD 2021-13-20] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received August 10, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

EC–2006. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Airbus Canada Limited Partnership (Type Certificate Previously Held by C Series Aircraft Limited Partnership (CSALP); Bombardier, Inc.) Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2021-0339; Project Identifier MCAI-2020-01605-T; Amendment 39-21636; AD 2021-14-09] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received August 10, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

EC–2007. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; International Aero Engines AG Turbofan Engines [Docket No.: FAA-2021-0544; Project Identifier AD-2021-00642-E; Amendment 39-21646; AD 2021-14-19] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received August 10, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

EC–2008. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Gulfstream Aerospace Corporation Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2021-0156; Project Identifier AD-2020-01594-T; Amendment 39-21650; AD 2021-15-03] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received August 10, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

EC–2009. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Dassault Aviation Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2021-0029; Project Identifier MCAI-2020-01216-T; Amendment 39-21631; AD 2021-14-04] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received August 10, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

EC–2010. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Leonardo S.p.a. Helicopters [Docket No.: FAA-2021-0375; Project Identifier MCAI-2020-01245-R; Amendment 39-21656; AD 2021-15-09] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received August 10, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

EC–2011. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of